COMMUNIST PARTY OF TURKEY-MARXIST LENINIST

PROGRAMME

(2019-2024)

Parti Yayınları

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INTRODUCTION

* The problems and contradictions that have been transferred to the present day by growing like an avalanche over the ground scorched by the fire of struggle ignited by the emergence of classes have created a paradox that brings humanity closer to disaster and happy end at the same speed.

* Our world, which has been ravaged by imperialism, which emerged as the last - coma before death - stage of capitalism, is being consumed with all its living beings, exploited to the utmost, plundered unlimitedly and dragged to "apocalypse".

* The world has become a "hell" for hundreds of millions of people, except for a handful of masters, servants and parasites. Under conditions where this situation is getting worse day by day, where the sharpening and deepening contradictions are increasing the cohesion on the front of oppressed peoples and nations, especially the working class, and where in a number of countries and regions it has ceased to be a wave coming from the bottom and has begun to hit the surface, the contradictions are becoming clearer and deeper.

* The solution to these contradictions lies in the Marxist Leninist Maoist world view, which analyses the history of class struggles in a scientific manner and sheds light on the path of human liberation.

PART I

Capitalism

1- Capitalism, which emerged out of feudalism, which was a class society in the march of humanity to a classless society, rising on the contradiction of labour and capital, continues its existence with the burden of the struggle of the two primary classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, in various forms and contents. Capitalism, which has generalised commodity production, turned labour power into a commodity, and perfected technique incessantly, has concentrated a significant part of the means of production (land, factories, work tools and machinery, railways and other means of transport) in the hands of a small number of capitalists and large landowners as their private property. Decaying, parasitic and moribund capitalism is in the monopoly (imperialist) stage.

Imperialism

2- Imperialism's unification of national economies into links in the chain of a single world economy under the name of "globalisation" in line with its own interests has at the same time matured the objective conditions for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of new democratic people's governments and socialism worldwide. The fact that the law of unequal development of capitalism has become even more evident in the stage of imperialism has paved the way for the realisation of democratic popular revolutions and socialism in individual countries through the breaking of the weakest link in the chain of imperialist exploitation. As long as imperialism exists, wars are inevitable.

3- As a result of this objective situation, the age we are in is the age of "imperialism and proletarian revolutions".

Democratic People's Governments, Socialism and Communism

4- After the experience of the Paris Commune, the proletariat and oppressed peoples established the Soviet Union with the October Revolution of 1917, the People's Republic of China with the Chinese Revolution of 1949, and subsequently popular democracies and socialist governments in many parts of the world.

5- With the reversal of socialism that began with these developments, the influence of the communist movement, which had won great victories against modern revisionism and various reactionary bourgeois currents around the world, began to decline, while the views of revisionist and other bourgeois currents became relatively popular.

6- Proletarian Cultural Revolutions must be adopted as a principle against the restoration of capitalism under socialism.

7- Within the scope of this long period, despite the revolutionary upsurges and flashes that developed in different forms and characteristics in some regions and countries, and despite the communist movements in some countries that turned towards revolution, the phenomenon that marked the whole period was the ideology and policies of the international bourgeoisie and its relative economic stability. Undoubtedly, this stability also includes its crisis and destruction, and this fact is not concealable, as the frequent crises and conflicts show.

8- The imperialist-capitalist system is dragging humanity with it to disaster in the 21st century. The only force that can stop this is the revolutions led by the proletariat. The oppressed peoples of the world, who will mobilise under the leadership of the international proletariat based on the enormous accumulation and experience of the past century, will put an end to this reign.

9- Imperialism has accumulated the objective conditions for this more than in the last century. The fact that there are strong signs of this at the very beginning of this century imposes important tasks on communists. The internationalist dimension of these tasks must be evaluated in its general and local context. The importance of international struggles against the ideological, political, cultural and military attacks of imperialism is obvious. They cannot be postponed, and their importance is undeniable. But undoubtedly, in the internationalist context, the priority for each communist party is to break the chains in its own country.

10- The proletariat and the oppressed classes and strata under its leadership are on this glorious path, on their great march aimed at conquering the future. This wave coming from the bottom is shaking the earth. Thousands of years of the movement of matter taking place before our eyes teach us this. Precisely for this reason, despite the setbacks experienced in the new democratic people's governments and socialism, the victory will sooner or later belong to the oppressed peoples under the leadership of the proletariat.

PART II

The nature of Turkish society

History

11- In the 19th century, Ottoman society, the predecessor of Turkish society, was first subjected to the export of commodities - and the import of raw materials - and then to the export of capital with the development of free competitive capitalism in Europe. Ottoman society began to dissolve with the export of commodities and then capital. Parallel to the evolution of free

competitive capitalism into the stage of imperialism, the central feudal structure of the Ottoman Empire evolved into a colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal structure.

12- Capitalism was not dominant in Turkey at the beginning of the 20th century. Because the existence of imperialism links the national and democratic revolutions in colonies and semi-colonies and makes it no longer a prerequisite for capitalism to become dominant in the infrastructure for the opening of the era of democratic revolution in such countries, the process of 1908-1923 came to the agenda in Turkey. It was the 1908 Movement that started the process of democratic revolution and in this sense had a democratic content. However, the process of 1908-1923 did not have a real anti-imperialist content. This process involved the power struggle of the Turkish merchant bourgeoisie with the compradors of minority nationalities, which would only be finalised in 1923.

13- 1923 was a movement led by the new Turkish comprador bourgeoisie, which engaged in a power struggle with the compradors of minority nationalities in order to seize full control of the partially developing market. The Turkish compradors and landlords limited the people's movement, of which they took the leadership, to pure anti-colonialism in line with their own interests, and in 1923 they also obtained the domination of the feudal-fascist state established as a multinational semi-colony by the Treaty of Lausanne.

14- Although the main aim of the Turkish ruling classes was to change the hands of the capital, with the discourse of "saving the state and the homeland", with the discourse of "saving the state and the homeland", the oppression of the Armenians, Greeks, Assyrians and Chaldeans etc., which started with 1908, became evident in 1912, became concrete with 1915 and continued until 1923, became a reality. They carried out the first genocide of the 20th century against non-Muslims.

15- In this period, the old Unionist Kemalists, who took the leadership of the "National Struggle", began to collaborate with the imperialists underhandedly, while the imperialists adopted a benevolent attitude towards the Kemalists and began to consent to a Kemalist government. After the Kemalists signed peace with the imperialists, this co-operation continued to deepen and the Kemalist movement developed "essentially against the peasants and workers, against the possibility of a land revolution".

16- In this sense, the Kemalist movement is a movement of the Turkish commercial bourgeoisie, landlords, usurers, a small amount of industrial bourgeoisie and their upper section. Within this movement, both the comprador Turkish big bourgeoisie and the middle bourgeoisie of national character took part.

17- As a result of the "National Struggle" that came to the agenda with 1918-1923, the colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal structure of the Ottoman Empire evolved into a semi-colonial and semi-feudal structure. In the political sphere, the founding of the Turkish Republic meant that the constitutional government, which was united with the interests of the dynasty, was replaced by a "bourgeois republic" as the government that best responded to the interests of the new ruling classes. This form of government is nominally independent, but politically a semi-colony of imperialism.

18- With the establishment of the Turkish Republic, the dominant position of the old comprador bourgeoisie, the old bureaucracy and the ulema in the social sphere was taken over by the new Turkish bourgeoisie, a section of the old comprador Turkish bourgeoisie and the new bureaucracy, which grew out of the middle bourgeoisie of national character and entered co-

operation with imperialism. Some of the old landlords, big landowners, usurers, profiteering merchants continued to dominate, while some of them were replaced by new ones. The Kemalist government does not represent the interests of the middle bourgeoisie of national character, but the interests of the classes listed above.

19- The comprador bourgeoisie and landlords have dominated the power since the establishment of the Turkish Republic until today. However, the comprador bourgeoisie and landlords are divided into two major political cliques. These cliques are not a monolithic whole and act in line with their class interests. What they have in common is that the clique that dominates the power and the state mechanism is the servant of imperialism and hostile to the working class and the people. The comprador bourgeoisie and landlord cliques, who were apostles of "democracy" when they were in opposition, became the fiercest enemies of the people when they came to power.

Economic

20- In a long historical process in Turkey - starting from the 19th century, continuing in the 20th century and evolving into the 21st century - feudal relations of production have maintained their existence despite their slow and painful dissolution, and in this dissolution, they have become intertwined with the exploitation of imperialist and comprador capital and turned into a semi-feudal structure. Thus, in Turkey, neither the feudal relations of production could be completely liquidated, nor the feudal-comprador superstructure could be destroyed. The main form of the usurpation of surplus-labour cannot yet take place within capitalist relations of production, capitalism cannot fully prevail.

The existing capitalism is of a comprador character. Since the capitalist development in Turkey is provided according to the needs of the imperialist-capitalist system, it cannot fully employ the migration from the countryside to the city that emerged with the heavy and painful dissolution of feudalism, and the appropriation of the surplus-labour of a decisive part of the labour force it employs takes place within semi-feudal relations of production intertwined with capitalist relations of production.

The productive forces of Turkish society have not been able to shatter the semi-feudal relations of production that surround it, the plunder and usury of imperialist capital and the obstacle formed by the comprador capital that mediates in this plunder, and in this sense, it has not been able to realise a revolution.

Today, Turkey is still in the process of capitalist initial accumulation and a significant part of the initial capital accumulated is appropriated by international finance capital. Therefore, this dependence prevents the development of productive forces.

Political

21- In the light of these historical facts, Turkey today is mainly under the yoke of US imperialism. The real importance of Turkey for US imperialism is proportional to its geopolitical role in the region, particularly in the Middle East. For this reason, US imperialism has made it dependent on itself in political, military and economic fields. However, in terms of foreign trade and industrial investments, the imperialists of the European Union, especially Germany, Russia and China see Turkey as an important market.

Social Structure

22- Turkey's semi-colonial, semi-feudal structure has created a social formation suitable for this. In parallel with this formation, the social structure was divided into two camps. The first of these camps, broadly defined as the people, includes workers, peasants, urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie. The other camp includes the comprador bourgeoisie, comprador bureaucrat bourgeoisie and landlords.

Patriarchal Structure

23- The patriarchal system, which is intertwined with exploitative systems as the main element of the oppression, exploitation, exposure to all kinds of violence and oppression of women and LGBTI+ people, and which is one of the foundations of these systems, is one of the foundations of the Turkish society and state. Especially in the society of Turkey, which jumped to feudalism without experiencing the slave society, the oppression, exploitation and genocide of women and LGBTI+ people is experienced as a much more severe and widespread problem.

Cultural

24- Turkey's semi-colonial, semi-feudal structure has also created a cultural formation. On one side of this cultural formation is the reactionary, corrupt culture of the imperialists and the ruling classes. The aim of this cultural production is to obtain "social consent", thus ensuring and legitimising the continuation of imperialist exploitation. For this purpose, almost every means and method is used to establish the cultural hegemony of imperialism, the comprador bourgeoisie and feudal remnants. Opposite to this culture is the progressive culture of the people, which emerges both from history and social practice, and these two cultures are in constant struggle with each other.

Military

25- The Turkish state is supposedly democratic, but in reality, it is a military fascist state. This phenomenon, organised from top to bottom, is not only a result of dependence on imperialism - and in this sense the weakness of the ruling classes - but also a basis that integrates with the dominance of the feudal structure in the superstructure, the liquidation of which has not been completed. The embodiment of the domination of the comprador and bureaucratic bourgeoisie and the big landlords in the apparatus of force has shaped the fascist state structure.

The fascist Turkish state, armed with the all-round support of imperialism, leans its power more and more on its masters and finds the remedy in unlimited servitude. A significant part of the military forces within the state structure are directly trained, directed and controlled by imperialist military organisations such as NATO. In addition, the police force is made more effective, and under the name of private security, etc., the state is positioned as an armed force against the people from head to toe.

National Question

26- Turkey today is one of the multinational and nationalised states. And only Kurds constitute a nation in Turkey. Parallel to the semi-colonisation of Turkey, national problems have been " resolved" in one way or another, and the nationalities within the borders of Turkey have lost their characteristics of being a nation. However, it is the Kurdish national question that is still unresolved. The Kurdish nation has the status of an oppressed dependent nation.

It is a policy of extermination, denial and assimilation based on a rigid chauvinism and racism applied by the ruling classes to the Kurdish nation. The national liberation struggle of the

Kurdish nation against this policy of the Turkish state is a just and legitimate struggle with a democratic content.

Oppressed Faiths

27- One of the main pillars of the Turkish ruling classes in the construction of the nation state has been the Sunni faith. The Turkish state has systematically imposed the Sunni faith on our people living within its borders and outside this faith - Alevis, Armenians and Greeks of the Christian faith, Jews, Chaldeans and Assyrians - and implemented a Sunnisation policy. The rigid, oppressive and massacring tradition of the state has made the problem of oppressed beliefs an important dynamic of the struggle for democracy.

Ecological Question

28- The structure of the imperialist-capitalist system based on excessive greed for profit, together with the comprador capitalism of Turkey leads to the destruction of nature and the environment, which we will define as the ecological question. The policies of exploitation and plunder lead to ecological destruction, as a result of which our geography is rendered uninhabitable. This situation leads to the emergence to widespread reactions to the plunder of nature and the environment and the deterioration of the ecological balance both in cities and rural areas. This struggle has become one of the important components of the struggle for democracy in our country.

Conclusion

29- In the light of these historical facts, the following can be stated as the main contradictions that come to the fore in the social formation of Turkey:

1- The contradiction between imperialism and the people

2- The contradiction between the masses of the people and feudalism

3- The contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie

4- The contradiction between the oppressor nation and the oppressed nationalities

5- The contradiction between the patriarchal system and the oppressed gender

6- The contradiction between the oppressor faith and the oppressed faiths

7- Contradiction between the system and the ecological system

8- Contradiction within the ruling classes

Among these contradictions that have come to the fore from the beginning of the democratic revolutionary process in Turkey until today, the contradiction between imperialism and the masses of the people is the basic contradiction, and the contradiction between the masses of the people and feudalism is the main contradiction.

30- The process of democratic revolution in Turkey still preserves its actuality.

31- The People's Democratic Revolution has common features with both the old type of bourgeois democratic revolutions and socialist revolutions, but it is different from both. What it has in common with the bourgeois democratic revolution of the old type is that the question of the liquidation of feudalism constitutes the essence of both revolutions. What it has in common

with the socialist revolution is that it is directed against imperialism and is therefore part of the world proletarian-socialist revolution.

PART III

People's Democratic Revolution

Leadership

32-The Communist Party of Turkey-Marxist Leninist, TKP-ML, is the party that will enable the proletariat and people of the Turkish-Kurdish nations, various nationalities and sects to realise the People's Democratic Revolution and from there to reach socialism.

TKP-ML is the vanguard and leading political party of the proletariat of Turkey of various nationalities, guided by the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. It was founded on 24 April 1972 by İbrahim Kaypakkaya as a continuation of the TKP led by Mustafa Suphi. It has nothing to do with the T "K "P, which took on a revisionist character after Mustafa Suphi. It is the product of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the heir to the accumulation of the revolts and organisations of the oppressed, exploited, massacred Turkish, Armenian, Greek, Kurdish, etc. people in this geography.

33- TKP-ML accepts Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, which is a scientific guide in the hands of the proletariat to change the world through revolution, as the theoretical basis that guides all its actions. The teachings of K. Marx, F. Engels, V.I. Lenin, J. Stalin and Mao Zedong, the great leaders and teachers of the proletariat and protects, defends and applies them with an uncompromising understanding of ideological struggle against revisionist, reformist and all kinds of opportunist attacks.

34- TKP-ML understands Marxism-Leninism-Maoism not as a dogma, but as a scientific and action guide of its struggle. TKP-ML acts on the principle of drawing lessons from the experiences of the revolutionary struggles of the proletariat and peoples of the world and Turkey. Armed with the experiences of the Paris Commune, the Great October Socialist Revolution, the Chinese People's Democratic Revolution and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, it walks on their bright path.

Classes in the Ranks of the People's Democratic Revolution (DHD)

35- The leading power of the People's Democratic Revolution is the proletariat, and the main power is the peasantry. While the urban petty bourgeoisie is a reliable ally of the DHD, the middle bourgeoisie is an unstable ally.

Enemies of the DHD

36- The enemies of the People's Democratic Revolution are imperialism, landlords and comprador bourgeoisie.

Some Features of the People's Democratic Revolution:

37- The fact that our country carries feudal relations in its bosom affects the balance of forces in favour of the revolution (democratic revolution). In addition, since the existence of feudalism will lead to a relatively weak industry and therefore a relatively weak working class, it affects the relationship of forces in the cities to the detriment of the revolution.

The fact that a country is semi-colonial, or colonial affects the relationship of forces in the cities to the detriment of the revolution. Together, these two conditions require that the countryside should be the main arena of struggle and that the strategy of "encircling the cities from the countryside" should be pursued. This strategy remains valid even in the case of the gradual dissolution of feudalism and the consequent decrease in the peasant population. Because the conditions of semi-colonialism (or colonialism) have changed the relationship of forces in the big cities in favour of the counter-revolution.

38- In Turkey -as a decisive factor- with the heavy and painful dissolution of feudal relations regulated by the exploitation of imperialism and the development of comprador capitalism, the fact that some imperialist policies implemented are directly related to agricultural production and that this directly aims to liquidate the peasantry; the historically centralised character of the state structure and the change it has brought about in a number of fields (roads, communication, military technology, etc.).), as well as the state's aggression against the communist and revolutionary movement, especially the Kurdish national movement, supported by village burnings and evacuations, etc.), A series of factors have led to a serious decrease in the peasant population in rural areas, especially in some regions.

However, while expressing this, it should be noted that there are some specific approaches to the concepts of urban and rural areas, urbanity and peasantry, etc. in our country. As it is known, city is a concept used for settlements where agricultural activities are not the focus and where industry, trade or administrative activities are predominant. In our country, the number of cities which are called cities, but which also harbour agricultural activities or have relatively intensive relations with rural areas is quite high. Nevertheless, a large part of the population has moved to big cities, and therefore the main body of popular movements has also shifted to big cities. This reality shows how important the cities are for the armed struggle and that the big cities are much more important than in the past in order to establish solid, strong ties with the masses of the people and to organise them along the DHD route.

In the process of the democratic revolution, the class struggle and the development of capitalism continue; nothing remains the same as before. The peasant concentration in the semi-colonial countries is decreasing, which affects the war in the countryside. However, the conditions of semi-colonialism cause the balance of forces to remain in favour of the revolution in the countryside.

39- The DHD in Turkey will develop from rural areas towards the cities.

There are two reasons for this:

a-) Although the essence of the democratic revolution is the "land revolution", the contradictions based on agricultural production are still decisive in our country.

b-) The fact that imperialism and the reactionaries who are its servants (especially imperialism) have completely taken the cities and advanced regions under their control.

The fact that imperialism and its local representatives, the Turkish ruling classes, have taken the big cities under their control, that the countryside of our country has a suitable structure in terms of armed struggle, that the counter-revolution is relatively weak in the countryside (including provincial cities) and that the armed struggle is suitable for organisation and development in these regions is the main reason why our revolution developed mainly from the countryside to the cities. Parallel to the development of the war in the countryside, armed

struggle will also be organised in the big cities. This will develop as a complementary process within the general logic of the People's War.

What is peculiar to Turkey -and, by the way, to semi-colonial, semi-feudal countries- is that the democratic revolution, the essence of which is the land revolution against feudalism, and the national revolution against imperialism are merged. The degree of the existence of feudalism and the proportion of peasants to the general population (which are interdependent) influence the programme of the democratic revolution. The democratic revolution is inseparably united with the national revolution. The weakness of feudalism in a semi-colonial, semi-feudal country reduces the tasks of the land revolution or narrows its limits.

40- Under the present conditions of our country, the struggle for the People's Democratic Revolution also has an anti-fascist character. The struggle that will eradicate fascism along with feudalism and imperialism is the People's War, led by the proletariat and based on the fundamental alliance of workers and peasants. Against fascism, as against imperialism and feudalism, the people have three weapons: The party, the people's army, the united front of the people. The people will defeat all their enemies; imperialism, comprador big bourgeoisie, feudalism and fascism with these three weapons.

41- People's Democratic Revolution in Turkey will have its own specificities. People's War, guerrilla warfare will not be the same as previous examples. Turkey has its own characteristics, differences in terms of the region where it is located. The central authority and militarist development of the state is at an advanced level. The demands of the masses are different in form. The social life of the peasantry has changed. For this reason, the issue cannot be viewed solely as a land problem. Although the contradictions based on agriculture remain strong, the quantitative and qualitative development of the working class has increased. Along with this reality, it must be taken into account that the phenomenon of migration due to war and economic reasons has increased the necessity of organising and fighting in the cities. The TEKEL Resistance and the Gezi Uprising are concrete examples of this.

42- In our country there is an ecological struggle in big cities and rural areas. The struggle of the peasants, whose agricultural lands, water resources and mountains are plundered, has emerged as a result of the rent policies increasingly implemented by the Turkish ruling classes either directly by authorising imperialist companies or through comprador companies. This situation also means that the peasant movement, which constitutes the main force of the democratic revolution of our country, defends its own land, water resources and mountains. In other words, the demands of the ecological struggle must also be taken into account in the democratic revolution of our country.

43- The struggle of the female gender against patriarchy, feudalism, capitalism, imperialism and fascism is intertwined. In this sense, the struggle for gender equality and the fight against patriarchy is one of the tasks of the revolution.

44- Turkey is a multinational and nationalised state. The Kurdish nation and other minority nationalities struggle against the privilege of the dominant nation to establish a state, against racism and chauvinism. The struggle of other oppressed nationalities, especially the Kurdish nation, against all kinds of fascist persecution, mass killings, prohibitions and national oppression of the Turkish ruling classes is part of the democratic revolution. However, it stands against the tendencies of these nations and nationalities to strengthen their own nationalism.

45- Turkish society has a multi-religious and multi-faith structure. The fascist character of the state leads to massacre attacks against oppressed beliefs. Besides, it is possible to see the traces of this contradiction in the social and cultural structure. Especially the oppressed beliefs have some democratic demands from the state. These demands are the subject of democratic revolution.

46- Turkey, with its geopolitical and geostrategic position, ethnic and demographic structure, historical past and underground and above-ground resources, is a country that is constantly under the close attention of imperialist states. As a part of both Europe and Asia, it has an indispensable status for the imperialists as a gateway to the Balkans, the Middle East and the Caucasus. The Turkish state is the outpost of US imperialism. Due to its geographical strategic position, it hosts the attacks of imperialism against the peoples of the region and provides unlimited support.

On the other hand, the existence of struggles against the world reaction and their proxies and local lackeys in these regions is beyond doubt. From North Africa, the Middle East to the Caucasus and the Balkans, there is the struggle of the proletariat and the oppressed peoples. Considering Turkey's position and relations in the region, it is imperative for the people's democratic revolution to develop relations with the progressive revolutionary movements in these regions and to unite with their struggles. This is also a specificity of the DHD struggle in Turkey.

47- The socio-economic structure of Turkey, the inability of comprador capitalism to absorb the emerging labour force, has led to a considerable number of labour force working abroad as migrant workers. In addition, the long years of struggle against fascism in Turkey has led to the emergence of a considerable number of political refugees abroad. Migrant workers and political refugees are one of the important agendas of the democratic revolution in Turkey.

48- The party of the proletariat and the people's army will be built step by step in a protracted war. Also in this protracted war, the united front of all popular classes, the working class, peasants, urban petty-bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie against imperialism, comprador capitalism, feudalism and patriarchy will be realised. This united front, under the leadership of the working class, will be built on the fundamental alliance of workers and peasants.

49- The power to be established throughout the country with the success of the People's War is the dictatorship of the people under the leadership of the proletariat. After the realisation of the People's Democratic Dictatorship, the proletariat, holding the leadership, united with the peasants and the broad masses of the people, will unceasingly embark on the construction of socialism by realising the dictatorship of the proletariat.

PART IV

Programme of the People's Democratic Revolution

The basic demands that the TKP-ML will realise as a result of its struggle to overthrow the dictatorship of imperialism, comprador big bourgeoisie and landlords and establish the democratic dictatorship of the people will be the following.

In the Political Field

50- The state of imperialism, the comprador big bourgeoisie and the landlords will be liquidated with all its remnants, the organs of power established in the Red Political Powers will be centralised and a democratic people's dictatorship will be established.

51- Any movement of the comprador bourgeoisie and landlords, in collaboration with the imperialists, to restore the old regime, to re-establish their class interests, will be crushed by the working class, the labouring people and their dictatorship. Being aware that the main way to prevent such reactionary uprisings is through cultural revolutions, all measures will be taken in this direction.

52- Slavery agreements made with imperialism in all fields such as economic, political, military, financial, cultural, diplomatic, etc. and all privileges granted to them will be abolished. Not a single imperialist military unit and base will be left on the territory of our country, all kinds of military alliances, especially NATO, and the dependency relationship with imperialist organisations will be exited, secret and open obligations will be cancelled and all secret agreements will be disclosed. Cyprus, the Middle East and all possible occupations will be ended.

53- The people's freedom of organisation, agitation, propaganda and action will be recognised and the exercise of these rights will be encouraged and fully guaranteed. All kinds of gender-based legal regulations, especially torture and punishments incompatible with human dignity, especially against the women's and LGBTI+ individuals, will be cancelled and all social institutions and relations will be reorganised according to the principle of equality. A quota of 50% women will be applied from the local level to the highest state unit. Women and LGBTI+ persons will be able to form their own independent democratic organisations. Every citizen, except for a handful of compradors and feudals, will have equal rights regardless of gender, nation-nationality-sect.

54- The judicial system of the old state will be completely liquidated. By centralising the People's Courts established in the Red Political Powers, the judiciary of the democratic people's dictatorship will be established. The judicial power will pass to the people's courts, whose members will be elected from among the classes taking part in the democratic popular revolution. Trials in the people's courts will be open to the public. The execution regime based on F-type isolation torture will be terminated and the execution regime based on production will be adopted. Parallel to the seizure and centralisation of power piece by piece, a general amnesty will be announced covering all prisoners and convicts, except for criminals of fascism, abuse, rape and harassment against children-women-LGBTI +.

55- The national defence and local order of the Democratic People's Dictatorship will be carried out through the people's militia, especially the people's army, which has developed and strengthened in the People's War. All members of the counter-revolutionary class will be disarmed. Any attempt to restore the old order will not only be crushed with violence but will also be used as a means of educating the proletariat and the people. Individual armament will be banned.

56- All representatives and officials of the People's Democratic Dictatorship will be elected and can be removed from office if necessary, by the majority of their constituents, who are 57- The People's Democratic Dictatorship will defend the principles of proletarian internationalism. It will educate the members and organisations of the people's army and the united front of the people, in particular the members of the communist party leading the DHD, and the people

against all forms of nationalism in the spirit of internationalism. Democratic People's Dictatorship of Turkey's revolution, in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolutions, recognising it as a part of the world proletarian revolution, the international Communist Movement, on the basis of Marxist-Leninist-Maoist principles will carry out the struggle for unity. It will act with the awareness that this unity can be achieved on the basis of open ideological struggle. It will establish and develop relations with Marxist-Leninist-Maoist parties on the basis of the principles of proletarian internationalism and equality. It will support the wars of national and social liberation that weaken imperialism in the international arena.

58- The Democratic People's Power will unconditionally defend the principle of the Right of Free Secession. It will oppose all kinds of national privileges and recognise the full equality of rights of all nationalities. The People's Democratic Power will resolutely tackle the source of the national oppression and persecution of minority nationalities, especially the Kurdish nation, and all kinds of chauvinist and reactionary discourse and propaganda.

59- In the system of the Democratic People's Dictatorship, the full equality of all nations and languages will be guaranteed. No compulsory language will be recognised, schools where all indigenous languages are taught to the people will be opened. The constitution of the people's state will strictly prohibit any nation from having any privileges and any violation of the rights of the national minority.

Every nation shall be recognised the right of free secession. For all this to be realised, especially widespread regional autonomy and fully democratic local self-government are necessary. The boundaries of these autonomous and self-governing regions shall be determined by the local population itself, on the basis of economic and social conditions, the national composition of the population, etc.

Economic field

60- The People's Democratic Dictatorship will confiscate the capital, owned enterprises, real estate and other wealth of the imperialists, the comprador bourgeoisie and all the forces participating in the armed war against the revolution. The economy will be reorganised for the benefit of the workers and toiling people; domestic and foreign trade, banking and insurance will be nationalised under the control of the democratic people's power.

61- In addition to imperialism and comprador capitalism, the semi-feudal landlord economy and usury will be liquidated in order to eradicate the feudal remnants that oppress the peasantry, and the lands in the hands of the landlords, especially the state-owned lands, will be nationalised by confiscating them without compensation. All lands where feudal, semi-feudal relations prevail will be distributed to the landless and low-landed peasantry on condition that they are cultivated. Land reform will be implemented with determination.

62- The People's Democratic Dictatorship will encourage the organisation in cooperatives of all individual peasant enterprises, including all the enterprises created by the distribution to the peasants of the lands where feudal, semi-feudal relations prevail, together with all the lands which it has nationalised and prohibited the sale, purchase, lease or transfer of. State farms will also be established on part of the land confiscated by the People's Democratic Dictatorship. These farms will be the first examples and fulcrums of a socialist economy in agriculture.

63- The debts owed by agricultural workers, poor, small and middle peasants to the state, banks, landlords, moneylenders and capitalists will be cancelled and mortgages on their land

and means of production will be abolished. All agricultural machinery and tools, seeds, fertilisers, pesticides, etc. in the hands of the landlords, especially the state apparatus, will be confiscated and the peasants will benefit from them.

64- Forests, rivers, water sources, lakes, waterfalls, promenades, sea coasts and all natural and historical richness will be made the common property of the people. Necessary measures shall be taken to make these resources available for the service of the whole people and to use them as historical and cultural excursions, recreational facilities and natural parks.

65- During the People's Democratic Power, the small enterprises held by the urban petty bourgeoisie will not be touched, but their unification in co-operatives will be encouraged. Similarly, enterprises and property in the hands of the middle bourgeoisie will not be confiscated, but will be under the control of the democratic people's power, as long as they do not oppose and damage the revolution, the people's power and the national economy, and are not instruments for the realisation of imperialist and feudal exploitation.

Labour

66- All rights of the working class such as solidarity strikes, rights strikes and general strikes will be legally guaranteed by ensuring all kinds of freedoms, especially the freedom of organisation in working areas. All remnants of exploitation on workers will be put an end to.

67- Steps will be taken to raise the democratic rights and living standards of the working class, a general insurance system will be established by providing job security to workers. Necessary steps will be taken to eliminate unemployment and provide jobs for everyone. Measures to improve the situation of poor peasants will be developed.

68- The maximum 8-hour working day and 40-hour work week will be generalised to cover all working areas including agriculture, and it will be aimed to shorten this period gradually in line with economic development and increase in labour productivity. Overtime work will be banned completely and night work will be banned except in compulsory cases. The realisation of the right to paid rest for each year will be guaranteed.

69- In the People's Democratic Dictatorship, equal pay for equal work will be ensured and the payment of a general minimum wage that will enable a worker's family to live humanely will be realised. By applying a single progressive tax system, all indirect taxes will be abolished and the tax system will be organised taking into account the income of the workers and the people.

70- In the Democratic People's Dictatorship, all kinds of discrimination against women and LGBTIs in working life will be addressed and equal pay for equal work will be implemented.

Women's labour will be banned in industries harmful to women's health, working time and working conditions of workers and labourer mothers and fathers will be regulated in accordance with their conditions, especially before and after childbirth, nursery and breastfeeding rooms will be opened in all workplaces, childcare and housework will be resolved publicly.

71- Democratic People's Power will provide free education and vocational training courses for children, LGBTI+ and women who are forced to prostitute their bodies.

72- Preventive measures that are mandatory for occupational safety will be taken in all workplaces and working conditions suitable for health will be provided in all workplaces. In connection with this, workers will be provided with healthy housing and transport conditions. Treatment and care will be provided for the victims of work accidents.

73- Labour of children under the age of 16 will be prohibited. For young workers under 18 years of age, a maximum 4-hour working day, a ban on night labour and a ban on apprenticeship, which is a feudal remnant, will be imposed.

Social Field

74- All health services shall be made free of charge and steps shall be taken to ensure that the whole society has quick and direct access to health services. An extensive public health system shall be implemented.

75- Legal arrangements shall be made for the protection, care and education of disabled, elderly and orphaned children and those in need of assistance and for their participation in social life as productive individuals.

76- In order to protect the mental and physical health of the people, mass sports shall be encouraged and sports facilities shall be established for the benefit of the public in order to strengthen competition, friendship and solidarity. A struggle shall be waged against habits such as tobacco products, drug addiction and alcoholism.

77- In order to completely eliminate the patriarchal system that oppresses and oppresses women and LGBTI+ persons, necessary organisations will be created, the whole society, especially men, will be educated, measures will be taken to eliminate gender roles, homophobia and transphobia. Domestic labour and childcare will be socialised.

Abortion will be recognised as a free right, obstacles to divorce against women will be removed, same-sex marriage will be legalised. Sexual and all kinds of violence against women, children and LGBTI+ persons, homophobic-transphobic attacks will be penalised.

78- In order to solve the housing problem, mass housing construction will be started to meet the needs of the people. Priority in the use of public housing will be given to the poor and labourers in need of care. In housing construction, a balanced urbanisation and environmental impacts will be taken into consideration by acting in a planned manner. Housing construction will not be limited to cities, steps will be taken for the construction of planned and safe housing in rural areas.

79- By ensuring equality for all religious and belief groups, religion and state affairs will be separated from each other, religion will be declared to be personal, freedom of belief of believers and non-believers will be secured.

80- In the Democratic People's Power, education will be handled with the principle of "being red and expert", and the education policy will be planned not only for the youth but also according to the needs of the whole society. Education will be made free in every sense and citizens will be provided with an education that is intertwined with material production at every stage starting from childhood. With the awareness that education is not only in schools, but also in out-of-school educational institutions, the establishment of a widespread library, reading rooms, courses, conferences, theatres and cinemas, cultural centres and the use of social media for this purpose will be encouraged.

81- Culturally, steps will be taken to eliminate imperialist and feudal culture in every field. For this, populist, progressive, revolutionary culture and art production will be supported. We will act with the perspective of embracing and appropriating not only the progressive, democratic and socialist culture of these lands but also all the progressive, democratic and socialist culture

created by humanity up to the present day. It will be revealed that cultural and artistic activities are not the work of a narrow circle, but of the whole people. All means of communication, especially the visual communication tools, will be made a means of meeting the cultural needs of the masses of the people as well as informing them correctly.

82- People's Democratic Power will take the necessary measures for the protection of the environment. It will oppose all kinds of initiatives based on the destruction of nature, and will prioritise renewable, alternative energy sources instead of energy production systems that threaten public health and the future.

83- Efforts will be made for the return of political asylum seekers and "migrant workers" who had to go abroad to work and their families to the country, and the economic and political exile life they live will be ended by providing suitable working and living conditions in the country.

84- The People's Democratic Power will be in planning by taking into account the ecological system in all its policies, especially economic policies. Criminal sanctions will be imposed against all kinds of abuse, torture and massacres against animals.

85- The perspective of the Democratic People's State is socialism and communism. After realising the People's Democratic Revolution, it is aimed to reach the communist society by building socialism under the dictatorship of the proletariat without stopping.

"Workers and oppressed peoples of all countries unite"